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THE IDENTITY

OF THE

OLD HARTFORD CONVENTION FEDERALISTS

WITH THE

MODERN WHIG, HARRISON PARTY.

CAREFULLY ILLUSTRATED BY LIVING SPECIMENS,

AND

DEDICATED TO THE YOUNG MEN OF THE UNION.

Old party distinctions are revived. The Fund- ing and National Debt and National Bank sys- tems of Hamilton, which Jefferson weakened, Jackson vetoed, and Van Buren abolished, are strenuously urged again by the party that so clam- orously support WILLIAM H. HARRISON for Pres- ident. While General Harrison is held up at the South as opposed to a United States Bank, he is known to be under the guidance of men at the North, who mean by "Reform" the restoration of a United States Bank.

To disguise the *end*, it is pretended by those who use Harrison as the "instrument" to re- vive Federalism and the Bank, that they are in fact the *Democratic party*, the disciples of Jeff- erson and Madison; while Jackson, Van Buren, and the supporters of their administrations, are the old *Federalists*!

Fatuity could not have feigned, nor credulity compassed, that such a pretence would be set up, had we not seen that there are men among us, claiming to have rational souls, who make the *drinking of hard cider* the rallying test and stim- ulus of their party. Having seen *this*, we may well be prepared to see any thing, however ab- surd, from such a party.

In the Boston Atlas of August 4, 1840, may be found the following:—

"The *Whig* party, which was the *Democratic* party of 1800. We all know that the *Whig* party became dissatisfied with John Q. Adams, and pending the second canvass went over to Andrew Jack- son! The *great Republican* party adhered to their allegiance, and were then as they now are, true Demo- crats of the *Jefferson* school, CONSTITUTING THE PRESENT WHIG PARTY."

The recklessness of Whiggery leaves nothing sacred. History must be turned out of doors, and Falsehood put in her place. Since, then, this al- leged change of old parties is to be falsely as- sumed to practise on the young men who have not examined the subject, it becomes indispensa- ble to put it right. Let those who have sought to seize the monument of Jefferson, and place it over the bones of Federalism, thank themselves for having compelled us to restore it to its right place, with its true inscription, and expose the rottenness it has been made to cover. We would pain no living man connected with those scenes. Many of them are venerable, and most estimable in private life. We would tread lightly on the

ashes of the dead; but truth—historic truth— eternal truth—must not, and *shall* not, be sacri- ficed.

Assertions are so recklessly made in these times, by systematic writers of falsehood, that the man of truth is rarely believed on his mere word. We shall therefore support every assertion with proof, and this will necessarily make the detail of evidence somewhat voluminous. Its impor- tance will repay a patient examination.

The assertion of the British Whig party, who support Harrison, is, that *they* are the true Jeff- ersonian, Democratic Republican party; and that the old Hartford Convention Federalists have *gone over to Jackson* and Van Buren in a body!

This assertion is impudently made *here* in Mas- sachusetts, in the leading organ of Mr. Daniel Webster. *Here*, then, it should be examined; for Massachusetts was the *cradle* of the Hartford Convention, as she has been, and will continue to be, the *death-bed* of old parties.

This assertion in the Atlas has a meaning. It follows close upon the display of "THE SIGNI- FICANT BANNER" at Baltimore, by the Boston Har- rison Delegation, and closer still upon the decla- ration of Mr. Daniel Webster, at the Log Cabin gathering in Alexandria, in the District of Co- lumbia, the 11th of June last, when he pledged himself of the North to go with the men of the South, in electing Harrison to the Presidency.

That was a meeting ominous to the South, deceptive to the North.

The secret policy of *tampering with the Aboli- tionists of the North*, had been perfected so far as it could be carried without endangering the South. Mr. Webster relied on party machinery to carry the Whig Abolitionists of his section, let him say what he would to the South; and he took the occasion at Alexandria, just upon the disclo- sure of General Harrison's secret letter to Mr. Evans, to proclaim an alliance with the South, in the hope of strengthening General Harrison in that section, and doing away the effect of the discovery of Mr. William B. Calhoun's corre- spondence with the Abolitionists of Massachusetts.

These are the memorable words Mr. Webster used on that occasion:—

"WE HAVE MADE WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON THE BEARER OF OUR STANDARD!"

Who are they, and what is their standard?

Where have they ever been, and where do they ever mean to be?

This is not the first time that Mr. Webster has officiated in the ceremony of a *left-handed marriage* between the Federalists of Massachusetts and the Whigs of the South and West.

The 10th of November, 1837, Mr. JOHN BELL, of Tennessee, appeared at a great Whig meeting in Faneuil Hall, Boston, and standing beside Daniel Webster, who presided in that meeting, Mr. Bell exclaimed, "TENNESSEE IS IN PRINCIPLE WITH MASSACHUSETTS."

The same men who stood by Mr. Webster to ratify that alliance, the John Davises, the Benjamin Russells, the I. C. Bateses, and the Saltonstalls, are now his vouchers for the pledge at Alexandria. Who and where are *they*?

DANIEL WEBSTER was the author of the Roekingham Circular, adopted by a Convention of Federalists in New Hampshire, denouncing the war, from which he was transferred to Congress. Previous to this, in 1806, he delivered an oration, the 4th of July, before "the Federal gentlemen" of Concord, N. H., in which he inveighed against President Jefferson, and denounced him for his love of peace and regard to economy.

"Patriotism," said he, "has given place to the spirit of economy. Regard to national honor is absorbed in a thirst for gain, and a desire to *save*."

In his pamphlet against the Embargo, Mr. Webster said of Jefferson —

"When a man's pretensions are utterly inconsistent with his actions, his pretensions must be *false*. The motive assigned for laying the embargo, was never the *true* motive. When we have a British war, we of course [shall] have a French alliance, and surrender our liberties and independence to the protection of Bonaparte."

In 1812, at a Federal Convention held in Brentwood, Mr. Webster reported resolutions justifying the public enemy, and condemning his own government.

While in Congress, he opposed the war at every step. Among volumes of speeches, denouncing the war and the administration, he said —

"Utterly astonished at the declaration of war, I have been surprised at nothing since. I saw how it would be *prosecuted*, when I saw how it was *began*. There is an unchangeable relation between RASH COUNCILS and FEEBLE EXECUTION."

"They (the Federalists) know the limit of constitutional opposition. Up to that limit they will walk, and walk fearlessly."

He thus exulted at the defeat of *our* arms and the murderous inroads of the savages —

"This is not the *entertainment* to which we were *invited*. We are told that these disappointments are *owing* to the opposition which the war encounters. This is no new strain. It is the constant tune of every *WEAK* or *WICKED* administration!"

Let the recorded votes of Mr. Webster in Congress show where he was and ever has been.

July 1, 1813, Daniel Webster voted against a bill for assessing and collecting taxes to sustain the war; July 9th, against a bill for duties on refined sugars and sales at auction.

January 7, 1814, he voted against a bill to fill the ranks of the army; January 10, against a bill to detect and punish *traitors and spies*; January 22, against a bill to enlist troops during the war, in a minority of *seven*; January 25, against enforcing the non-importation laws; February 8, against raising five regiments; March 20, against calling out the militia to execute the laws and repel invasion; December 1, against providing revenue for maintaining the public credit; De-

cember 10, against calling on the States for their quotas of militia to defend the frontiers; on the 19th, against a bill to provide for the expenses of the war, and *against a bill to provide for rebuilding the Capitol and public officers, which had been burnt by the enemy!*

In the same spirit, in 1836, when we were threatened with a French war, and it was proposed to put means in the hands of Andrew Jackson to defend the country, Daniel Webster exclaimed in the United States Senate, "I would not vote for the bill if the enemy were battering down the walls of the Capitol."

A very natural sentiment from the man who voted against rebuilding the Capitol after the enemy had burnt it down.

So much for the Army. What did Mr. Webster do for the Navy? He now pretends that was his favorite in the war, and the Federalists lately gave him a cane made from wood of Perry's flag-ship. What did he do for the Navy?

The 7th of January, 1814, Mr. Webster voted against an appropriation of one million, for defraying the expenses of the *Navy!* This was less than four months after the victory of Perry on the Lakes, so that had the country depended on *Daniel Webster*, the gallant Perry's flag-ship could not have been kept afloat.

The catalogue is not full, but it is sufficient.

And who are Daniel Webster's associates in Massachusetts, who have made William Henry Harrison the bearer of their standard? We will identify some of the leaders.

JOHN DAVIS, (the Federal Harrison candidate for Governor against the patriotic and incorruptible Marcus Morton.) And where has John Davis been? We have just stated that, in 1814, Mr. Webster voted against rebuilding the Capitol. How his associate, Mr. John Davis, received the news of that outrage, will appear from the following statement: —

[From the Worcester Palladium.]

SENATOR DAVIS.

"John Davis is the man who gave THREE CHEERS, in the streets of Worcester, when he received the news that the British army had sacked the city of Washington, and BURNED the Capitol."

This statement we made on the authority of an unimpeachable witness, who stood within a few feet of Mr. Davis at the time. All three of the Whig papers of this town, the *Spy*, the *Ægis*, and the *North Bend*, have denied that any thing of the kind ever occurred, and have hurled at the Palladium the keenest shafts their malice could command. But not intending to be browbeaten by them out of what we believed to be truth, we have persisted in the truth of the statement. The *Ægis* has pursued us with singular virulence, declaring as follows: —

"IT IS FALSE that ever a man of our population rejoiced that the Capitol had been captured, sacked, and burned; and that 'there is no person, gentleman, or of other description, now residing in Worcester, who will say that he ever knew or heard Mr. Davis, by word or act, exult over any victory of the British, because such an act was never done by him. It is a libel on our town to affirm that ANY of ITS CITIZENS shouted when the intelligence, which stirred every breast with indignation, of the capture of Washington, was received.'"

Now mark how plain a tale shall put our reviler down!

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[From the National *Ægis* of August 31, 1814.]

"HORRIBLE DEPRAVITY. When the news of the CAPTURE of WASHINGTON reached this town, SOME of the LEADING FEDERALISTS openly expressed their GRATIFICATION, mingled with a REGRET, that the PRESIDENT was not involved in the destruction of the CAPITOL!"

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If we are rightly informed, the *Democratic Aegis* of 1814 (not the *Federal Aegis* of 1810) was under the control of a brother of the present editor of the *Aegis*. Of course we shall have no more denials from that quarter, that "some of the leading Federalists" of this town were so horribly depraved as to openly express their gratification at the destruction of the Capitol. Shall we have any restrictions? Our accusation against Mr. Davis lags far behind that of the *Aegis* of 1814. We have not accused him of expressing a "regret that the President was not involved in the destruction of the Capitol," though from the temper of his writings at that time, there can be little doubt that the destruction of Mr. Madison would have sent a thrill of joy through the frame of a man whose daily habit it was to calumniate him as *base, perfidious, cowardly, and a "buffoon."*

In 1816, the year after the war, the same Mr. John Davis delivered an oration on the 4th of July, before the Federalists of Worcester. We give a few extracts, to show the character of that oration.

"Could Federalists exult in the discharge of severe and ungrateful duty, they might look back with proud satisfaction on their career."

"What is our remuneration for the toil, the labor, and the peril of that season of calamity? [the war]. Are the Canadas subdued? Have we any safer passport on the highway of nations? On these subjects the boasted treaty which was sealed with the blood of thousands, is silent. What then are the trophies of that obdurate combat? *National glory*? And what is that national glory achieved by the blood of thousands? Ask that blazing meteor which consumed Moscow, and, shorn of its beams, has set in the Western Ocean? [Napoleon.]

"Our lesson, though less disastrous, is not much less humiliating.

"When the tax-gatherer knocks at your doors, remember that the tribute he demands, is the purchase of *national glory*.

"When the fishermen sees his occupation gone, let him remember that his government have made the sacrifice for *national glory*.

"When the merchant murmurs that he is shut out from the *West India trade*, let him remember it was abandoned in quest of *national glory*.

"When in the disguise of double duties you pay an *exorbitant tax on all foreign commodities*, [the Tariff,] let it not escape your minds that this too is a tribute for *national glory*.

"When you see the page of history which records the sacking of Alexandria, and the destruction of the Capitol, remember that these were only propitiatory offerings on the altar of ambition, to secure the blessings of *national glory*.

"The Federalists are gratified that they have erred so little, that they have boldly confronted the members of power, the rules of ambition, and in the darkest times advocated those great measures which were calculated to accelerate the prosperity, and promote the permanent interests of the nation; while they have strenuously opposed that narrow, self-destroying policy, which was *formed in party animosity, adapted to a foreign climate, and drew after it poverty, war, and the loss of invaluable national privileges.*"

This is the eulogy which that modern pretender to the Jefferson school, "honest" ("ay, honest") John Davis, pronounced on the administrations of Jefferson and Madison.

In the same oration, he extolled "the heroes of Chippewa and New Orleans, who had redeemed their country from infamy," while the only indirect allusion to Harrison, was as one of the actors "in that storm of rapid proclamations which howled along our Northern border."

Mr. Davis now holds the office of United States Senator, under the Massachusetts Federal Whigs, and is also their candidate for Governor.

For several years he was their agent to collect the militia claims of Massachusetts for her share in achieving what Mr. Davis sneered at as the moonshine of national glory!

Take a brief history of another of these "Whigs of the Jefferson school," who is associated with Mr. Webster in making General Harrison the bearer of their standard.

ISAAC C. BATES, one of the Harrison electors for Massachusetts, and a missionary of the Harrisburg Convention.

July 14th, 1812, this same Mr. Isaac C. Bates was secretary of the Federal Convention for Hampshire, Franklin, and Hampden, held at Northampton, to denounce the war, every living man of which convention, save one, is now a Harrison Whig. Mr. Bates was chosen one of the Committee of Safety, with Lyman, and Strong, and others, every living man of whom is now a high Whig, viz. *Joseph Lyman*, the Whig Sheriff of Northampton county, a surviving member of the Hartford Convention; *Richard E. Nuccomb*, Judge of Probate for Franklin; *Lewis Strong*, son of Governor Caleb Strong; *Elijah Alvord*, Register of Probate for Franklin; *George Grennell*, Whig member of the last congress; and

OLIVER B. MORRIS, Judge of Probate for Hampden, and Mr. *W. B. Calhoun's* confidential correspondent, to whom he wrote the letter (not to get into the newspapers) to be used to satisfy the Abolitionists that General Harrison was *with them*, and would do all in his power for emancipation.

That Convention, of which these living Whigs were most prominent members, adopted a memorial calling on the President forthwith to make peace with Great Britain; and they

"Resolved, That our rulers [James Madison, &c.] have prostrated our national character, sacrificed our vital interests, and finally involved us unprepared in the calamities of war."

This manifesto was signed by ISAAC C. BATES as secretary.

And he is the same man who, in February, 1812, pronounced an oration before "the Washington Benevolent Society" of the county of Hampshire, in which he eulogized Ames and Hamilton as patriots, and denounced Jefferson and Madison as traitors. Hamilton's system of REVENUE — the very thing Mr. Van Buren and the Democracy are opposing — he called

"The main artery of the body politic, which even the *Vandal band* of this administration [Madison's] dare not cut."

Of the BRITISH TREATY, the famous Jay treaty, he said, "We owe to it more of our prosperity than I can recount."

Of Jefferson and Madison he said,

"By none were these measures and President Washington himself assailed with more fatal effect, than by Mr. MADISON and Mr. JEFFERSON. The one led the opposition in the House of Representatives; the other abandoned his Cabinet."

Mr. Bates also sneeringly compared Thomas Jefferson to Tom Paine, and exclaimed, "*Par nobile fratrum!*" Here is a right "Jefferson Whig," truly.

Mr. Bates is also the man who, in 1813, as a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, opposed the war at every step. He also was prominent in supporting resolutions that the admission of Louisiana into the Union was a violation of the Constitution, and directing the delegation in congress to obtain a repeal of the act of admission. Opposition to Louisiana was a cardinal virtue with the Hartford Convention Federalists. And now these same men appeal to Louisiana to help them elect Harrison; and this same Mr. Isaac C. Bates was a principal agent in the nomination of General Harrison at Harrisburg, and is now at the head of the list of Harrison electors for Massachusetts.

He also holds the office of commissioner on militia claims, growing out of the war he so vehemently opposed.

Hon. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL is another of Mr. Webster's associates in making General Harrison the standard-bearer of the old Federal party, under their new name.

Mr. SaltonSTALL, in July, 1812, was chosen, with Timothy Pickering, delegate to the Federal rebel convention held in Boston, August 6, 1812, to oppose the war. He voted for an address on that occasion, which says —

"In an evil hour, Mr. Jefferson gained the President's chair.

"Our country, then prosperous, has been grievously oppressed by ruinous commercial restrictions, which for many years have been wantonly imposed by the government of the United States; and its measure of iniquity is now filled up by a declaration of war against Great Britain,—a war impolitic, unnecessary, and unjust.

"In this awful state of things, it is the urgent duty of the freemen of Massachusetts to consult together. This duty has become the more imperious by the condition of the government of this commonwealth, (Massachusetts,) of which one branch (the Senate) is in the hands of usurpers devoted to the iniquitous system of the national government, (James Madison.)

"Our common interests, liberties, and safety are now (1812) more injured, opposed, and endangered, by the doings of our own national government, than they were when, in 1775, we took up arms to protect and defend them against the measures of the British government."

Mr. SaltonSTALL, who adopted this abuse of Jefferson and Madison, July 21, 1812, at the Essex Junto convention, is now held up as a *Jefferson Democrat*, (Heaven save the mark!) and is one of the great Whig executive committee who are going "to restore the days of our patriot Presidents." What Presidents?

The Senate of Massachusetts, in 1813, which Leverett SaltonSTALL denounced as "*usurpers devoted to the iniquitous system of the national government*," had a majority of Democrats, friends of Jefferson and supporters of Madison and the war. Of that Senate MARCUS MORTON, now the Democratic Governor of Massachusetts, was clerk, and Samuel Dana (deceased) president. Mr. Morton, the clerk, was turned out the next year, when the Federalists got the power.

Mr. SaltonSTALL was a prominent Federal member of the Massachusetts House in 1814, '15, and '16. The journals will show where he then was.

October 13th, 1814, Mr. SaltonSTALL was placed second on the committee to report upon the Hartford Convention: William Sullivan was chairman; Mr. SaltonSTALL was the prominent mover in the committee.

October 15, Mr. SaltonSTALL debated through the day in support of the convention.

[Extract from the Boston Centinel of October 15, 1814.]

"The fifth resolution (calling the Hartford Convention) was debated through the day. It was supported by Messrs. Knapp, Hilliard, Longfellow, SaltonSTALL, Hubbard, and others. It was opposed by Messrs. Webb, Green, Worthington, Aiken, Ellis, and Lincoln. The debate was able and spirited. Yeas 260, nays 90."

Of the above who supported the convention, three only survive, and are now Whigs. Of those who opposed it, five survive, all but two now Democrats.

January 27, 1815, Leverett SaltonSTALL voted to approve the doings of the Hartford Convention, and to appoint three commissioners to apply to the United States government for the separation of Massachusetts from the States, in the defence of her territory.

This same Mr. SaltonSTALL is now a Whig member of congress, and one of the "Whig Executive Committee" for the nation, who tell the people that their object is "the restoration of the government to the days of her patriot Presidents."

Mr. S. has violently opposed or denounced every Republican President from Jefferson to Van Buren. He never approved any administration but of the two Adamses. He was chairman of the committee of arrangements at the great Whig dinner in Salem to Mr. Webster, in the panic of 1834, and was master of ceremonies in receiving Mr. John Bell, in 1837, when he came to lay Tennessee at the feet of the Federalists of Massachusetts.

We will sketch but one more of General Harrison's aids in supporting the Federal standard.

Major BENJAMIN RUSSELL, the editor of the Boston Centinel through the war. To show where he now is, we quote the veteran's toast given at a celebration of the last 4th of July by the Whigs of Boston.

"By Major Benjamin Russell. The powerful *American Whig Locomotive*, with its attendant Cais,—the Constitution, Public Prosperity, Liberty, Equal Laws, the Poor Man's Rights, and Rich Man's Privileges—May the progress of their passengers to the Hartfords be onward, forward, and straightward, hand in hand, shoulder to shoulder, and their journey be crowned with such success, as will induce all other Locos to join company, and unite cordially in the shout "Go ahead,—for we now know the Whigs are right."

Major Russell now knows that the Whigs are right: he scents the black cockade of General Harrison! Then the Whigs were right when, with Major Russell, who was a member of the House during the war, they voted for all the measures of the Hartford Convention. The Major has not changed. He has the virtue and honesty to avow his ancient Federalism. At the polls, at the last election, he said, "I have always been a Federalist, and am now a Whig, which is the same thing." He was a Whig, then, when he published the following Federal Whig doctrine:—

[From the Boston Centinel of July 18, 1812.]

"The union of the Northern and Southern States is not essential to the safety, and is very much opposed to the interests, of both sections. A peaceable separation would be for the happiness of all sections."

[From the Centinel of June 26, 1813.]

"The events of this most abominable war make a very melancholy impression on all who are not pecuniarily interested in its perpetuation. Besides the horrid effusion of human blood, the monthly expenses of the war are six millions."

[June 30th.]

"The sailors begin to find out that the war is carried on to protect foreign seamen on board our vessels, and to take the bread out of their mouths."

[A remarkable identity with the attempt of Mr. John Davis to pervert the speech of Senator Buchanan into an attempt to destroy the wages of labor.]

[Centinel of June 28, 1813.]

"It is not conceived that any future naval encounter, should we prove successful, can be of more consequence to the country, than a race gained by the horse Telescope, bred in Jersey, would be over the horse Sweetbrier, imported from England. Our navy is not intended, by the administration, to protect our commerce; and for the purpose of impairing the strength of the British navy, it would be almost as reasonable to expect some Gulliver to swim over the British Channel, and bring it out of Plymouth in his fingers."

[From the Centinel of March 30, 1816.—Extract from the Federal Address to the People.]

"The malignant blasts of Democracy have swept over

us like a pestilence. Why should we vote for the *Jeffersons*, the *Madisons*, the *Monroes*, and their modern satellites, who exhausted our resources, ruined our commerce, and chilled the life-blood of our prosperity by A WICKED WAR to gratify a foreign monster. Come forward, then, and BRAND WITH INFAMY THE PROFLIGATE RINGLEADERS OF DEMOCRACY."

After the election of Governor Brooks over Samuel Dexter, the Centinel of April 10 exclaimed —

"Democracy is like the clump-footed cabbage. It sprouts in the wet and shade, but when the sun of Federalism shines, it decays and putrefies."

"Mr. Jefferson, about this time, is repeating his exclamation, 'The devil is still in Massachusetts!'"

Here is one of your modern Whigs of "the Jeffersons in school," and he says he knows the Whigs are right in supporting Harrison.

We might give more full lengths of prominent Harrison standard-bearers of the blue-light school, but they are so numerous we must group them. Of these men, as above described by themselves, who will not say,

"They are where they ever have been and ever mean to be," — Federalists?

THE CONTEST BETWEEN JOHN ADAMS AND THOMAS JEFFERSON IN 1801.

Where were the supporters of Harrison then?

The *Federalists* of Massachusetts, then in power, were so eager to defeat Jefferson, that they violently changed the mode of choosing electors from districts to a general ticket. This roused the Republicans, and the whole electoral ticket was carried by the people for Jefferson, by a majority of 3,533. It was the largest vote that had ever been given in Massachusetts, then including Maine.

Major BENJAMIN RUSSELL, editor of the Centinel, the Federal organ, said —

"The state of our national affairs, and the activity of the partisans on both sides, has given an extraordinary activity to the election; and in no instance, since the existence of the State, will be found so great a number of votes given in. It has been, *emphatically*, a struggle whether Massachusetts would consent to become a *Colony of Virginia*, or a free and independent State."

At that period, the supporters of Jefferson called their party *Republican*; but they were universally nicknamed, by the Federalists, *Democrats*, as a term of reproach. The Centinel thus announced the result of the choice of the Jefferson electoral ticket: —

"The whole number of votes was 55,000. The highest on the *Democratic* list had 29,310 votes. The lowest on the *Federal* ticket, 25,126. The general result may be thus stated: For the *Federal* ticket, 25,777; for the *Democratic* ticket, 29,310; odds, 3,533."

The following extracts from the Boston Centinel of that day will show the lines between the two parties, and the bitterness of the then Massachusetts Federalists (now Whigs) against Jefferson Democracy and Virginia: —

"If Massachusetts is doomed to become a *satellite* of Virginia, no blame can rest on Suffolk."

"The result of the electoral choice in this State (for Jefferson) will not materially lessen the faith of any genuine *Federalist* in the ultimate triumph of the principles of the Constitution as administered by Washington and Adams."

"It is not in mortals to command success;
They can deserve it."

Before the election, the Centinel called for a rally of its party, under the name of "the true *Republican Federalists* from 1783 to 1801."

Of the Democratic electors chosen in Massa-

chusetts, it said, "They are all pledged to vote for Jefferson and Clinton," and added —

"The *white* Virginians of the North dare no more deviate from their pledge to vote for Jefferson than the *black* Virginians dare disobey the orders of their drivers."

Again, the Centinel said —

"The *Democrats* continue to *profane* the revered name of Washington, by *opposing* it to that of John Adams, and *connecting* it with that of Jefferson."

The same paper gives a list of members of Congress elected, and says, "These in Italics are *Democrats*."

ALDEN BRADFORD, the Federal historian of Massachusetts, says of the success of the Jefferson electoral ticket, in 1804 —

"The *Democratic party* triumphed, much to the disappointment and mortification of the *Federalists*."

When Sullivan was elected Governor, the same writer says —

"For the first time after the Federal Government was established, all branches of the Government in Massachusetts, in 1807, were *Democratic*, and again in 1810 and 11."

This is pretty conclusive as to what was meant by *Federalist* and *Democrat* in those days. Let us see, then, where the leaders are now. Mr. Alden Bradford is now a very strenuous Harrison man. He was Governor Strong's secretary in the war.

In 1804, Massachusetts, including Maine, gave 19 electoral votes.

Where were the men who were identified in that contest between Adams and Jefferson, thirty-six years ago? and where are the survivors now?

Of the Democratic ticket of electors, headed by James Sullivan and Elbridge Gerry, not one is living. Like the immortal signers of the Declaration, all have gone to their long homes.

Of the Federal John Adams ticket, headed by David Cobb (the avowed monarchist of the reign of terror) and Oliver Wendell, but two are known to be now living, viz. EBENEZER MATTOON, of Amherst, and SAMUEL S. WILDE, of Hallowell. Where are these men now? and where have they always been?

It was exultingly announced, in the Whig papers, that, at the celebration of the last 4th of July in Barre, where Daniel Webster was the Whig orator, the veteran General Ebenezer Mattoon, a Revolutionary soldier, was present, and gave his voice in favor of Harrison!

And who is Ebenezer Mattoon, whom the Whigs so exultingly parade in their Log Cabin processions?

He is the same man who, in 1804, was run as a John Adams elector against Thomas Jefferson, and was defeated by the Democrats of Massachusetts.

He is the very same man who, in 1811, was removed from the office of Sheriff of Hampshire by Governor Gerry, afterwards Vice President with James Madison. He was then taken up by the Federalists, and elected a member of the Legislature.

And, further, this General Mattoon, whose support of Harrison is exultingly proclaimed by the "Harrison Democrats," as they style themselves, was a Federal member of the Massachusetts Legislature in 1812, and voted for all the Hartford Convention measures, and signed the violent protest to Congress denouncing James Madison's war.

In 1814, he was appointed one of Governor Strong's peace Major Generals, to prevent the Massachusetts troops doing any fighting!

Such was and is this "*Harrison Democrat*," General Mattoon, a John Adams elector in 1804, a Hartford Convention Federalist in 1812, a "peace party" General in 1814, and a hard cider Whig in 1840. Verily, he is "where he ever has been and ever means to be."

The other survivor of the John Adams electoral ticket of 1804 is Hon. SAMUEL S. WILDE. We speak only of his political life. As a man and a Judge, he is learned and venerable. Where has he been? In 1814, he was one of Governor Caleb Strong's Council, and sanctioned the refusal of that enemy of the Union to call out the militia as required by the President.

The 18th of October, 1814, he was chosen a member of the *Hartford Convention*, and sat in secret conclave in that treasonable council.

He was subsequently appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts by Governor Strong, and in 1816 was chosen, by the Federal Legislature of that State, to vote against Monroe for President, and for *Rufus King*, the very man who proposed, on the floor of Congress, to furnish James Madison with a *halter*!

He is now a Judge of the Massachusetts Supreme Court, and a Whig, or "*Harrison Democrat*," — one of Mr. Webster's associates under "the significant banner!" He, too, is "where he ever has been and ever means to be."

This was the beginning of the two parties, Federal and Democratic. Let us look a little farther.

THE WAR OF 1812, and THE HARTFORD CONVENTION OF 1814, were decisive tests of the two parties. How many who bore up the standard of rebellion in those days are now enlisted with Daniel Webster, John Davis, and their associates, in making General Harrison their "standard-bearer!"

June 10, 1812, a majority of the Committee of Foreign Relations in the House, in Congress, to whom Mr. Madison's message was referred, reported a manifesto as the basis of a declaration of war.

The men who made that report were JOHN C. CALHOUN, of South Carolina, FELIX GRUNDY, of Tennessee, EBENEZER SEEVER, of Massachusetts, John Smilie, of Pennsylvania, John A. Harper, of New Hampshire, and Joseph Desha, of Kentucky.

The three first named still survive. Need we ask where are they? Two of them are distinguished Senators, supporting the Democratic Administration of Martin Van Buren. The third resides in Roxbury, Massachusetts, excluded from public life by Federal malignity ever since he voted for the war, but uniformly Democratic. At the recent celebration of the 4th of July, he wrote a sound Democratic letter to the Democrats of Medfield, full of the pure doctrine.

WILLIAM SULLIVAN, of Boston, another of Mr. Webster's associates, who died within a year, in the full faith of British Whiggery, (and who, were he now living, would rally around the Federal standard-bearer, General Harrison,) held up these men to scorn, in his *Familiar Letters*, published in 1834.

Mr. Sullivan was the *ambassador* of the Hartford Convention, sent to Washington in 1814, to demand of President Madison the separation of New England from the Union, in carrying on the war. He was an active partisan Whig, to the time of his decease, and none better understood the motto of that party, borne on its significant banner at Baltimore,

"We are where we ever have been and ever mean to be."

Mr. Sullivan thus identifies the Federalists of 1812 and the Whigs of 1834. He says —

"When Mr. Madison came to the Presidency, the opponent party were the *Federalists*. The opponent party at this day (1834) are citizens known by some other name, but THEY ARE MEN OF THE SAME PRINCIPLES." — *Familiar Letters*, p. 232.

Again, he says, (p. 366), in mourning over the disbanding of the Federal party by the second election of Jefferson —

"The name (Federalist) became so odious that it was abandoned. It ought ever to have been the most honorable that any citizen could assume."

In this we may see a shadowing forth of the second election of Van Buren, and the fate that awaits the various names of "*Harrison Democrats*," "*Long Cabin Whigs*," and "*Hard Cider Republicans*."

At that period the Federalists were exulting in the blind hope of defeating Mr. Van Buren's first election, just as they are now of preventing his second choice by the people. Mr. Sullivan talked then, just as the hard cider boasters do now. Hear him.

"Are the people of the United States so far gone in despotism that they *must* submit? or can they in any way wrest their personal freedom, their constitution, their honorable fame, the last hope of civil liberty, from the grasp of *usurpers*?"

"They have a formidable adversary to contend with. There is the President, (Andrew Jackson) with a head and heart not better than *Thomas Jefferson*, but freed from the inconvenience of that gentleman's constitutional timidity," &c.

"But there are *encouraging* indications of late. There is a hope that the real sovereigns of the land are opening their eyes and their ears to realities. The day is near at hand when the people can save themselves and their Constitution, at its *last gasp*."

"But that which is astonishing and ludicrous is, that this *army of patriots* [the office-holders, &c.] announce and maintain that the people *know, understand, and approve* of all their doings!"

"There is not the least doubt that a large majority of the American people are *disgusted and astonished* by the usurpations of Andrew Jackson."

JUDGE HOPKINSON, of Pennsylvania, another veteran Federalist and modern Whig, who is now associated with Mr. Webster in supporting the Federal "standard-bearer," exultingly exclaimed, in the Pennsylvania Convention, Dec. 23, 1837, when the Bank suspensions had given new hopes to the opposition —

"Notwithstanding all the calumnies that have been uttered against the *Federal party*, yet they are always at their post in the hour of danger. Their *principles* are always invoked to rescue the country from difficulties it is plunged in by the rashness of their opponents. Thus in *times of difficulty they triumph*, and THEY ARE NOW AGAIN COMING INTO POWER. I see some honest faces present who are not ashamed to *avow themselves Federalists*."

Such is the identity of the old "*Federal Republican*," and the new "*Whig Republican*," or "*Democratic Whig*" party. But let us return to the war and the Hartford Convention, and see where the present associates of Mr. Webster, in holding up their "standard-bearer" Harrison, *then* were.

The war was declared June 18, 1812. We all know where DANIEL WEBSTER was then, and his motto says, "I am where I ever have been and ever mean to be."

How was the declaration received in Massachusetts, and where are the men now?

HON. SAMUEL PUTNAM, of Salem, then a member of the Massachusetts House, offered a resolve, (June 2, 1812, before war was declared,) deprecating the measure, and reported a strong Memo-

rial to Congress against it, which passed, 406 to 249. The Memorial was disclaimed by the Republicans of that day, as humiliating to us, and meanly submissive to Great Britain.

Of those who voted for this Federal protest, we have ascertained that *thirty-nine* are now living, and of these all but *one man*, are active, decided Whigs, associates of Mr. Webster in supporting Harrison, as the "standard-bearer" of Federalism!

We will give the names of the most prominent.

Samuel Putnam, of Boston, now a Judge of the Supreme Court, appointed by Gov. Strong in 1814.

David Wilder, now the Treasurer of the Commonwealth, elected by Whigs.

Jonathan Hurrenrell, an ex-Senator of Suffolk, and now a modern Whig.

Benjamin Russell, the old editor of the Federal Centinel, and a toaster of Harrison at the last 4th of July dinner in South Boston. Visited the British fleet off Boston in the war, and received John Bell in Faneuil Hall in 1837.

Benjamin Whitman, of Boston, an ex-Judge of the Police Court, and a modern Whig.

Isaac P. Davis, a present Whig member of the House from Boston, signed the Whig protest against Governor Morton's Address.

Charles Jackson, an ex-Judge of the Supreme Court, appointed by Governor Strong, concurred in the opinion of the Court sustaining Strong in refusing to call out the militia in the war, and in 1832 was chosen a Whig elector against Mr. Van Buren, for Webster or Harrison, against the patriotic Jackson.

William H. Sumner, of Roxbury, ex-Adjutant-General, a prominent partisan of Log Cabins, and an extensive speculator in lands.

Daniel Messenger, of Boston, ex-member of the Legislature, and an active British Whig, and a Vice President of the Washington Benevolent Society in 1814.

Lynde Walter, (father of the Editor of the **Transcript*, a Whig paper,) a Justice of the Peace.

Leuel Shaw, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Decided Whig.

James Savage, Whig member of Governor Everett's Council, Suffolk ex-Senator, present Whig member of the House, a signer of the protest against Governor Morton, and principal in contriving to "nicely count" the people out of his election!

Joseph Tilden, President of the Massachusetts Life Insurance Company, a great monopoly corporation. Active Whig.

Dudley L. Pickman, of Salem, brother-in-law of Mr. Saltonstall, Whig member of the Legislature in 1831, and father-in-law of Richard S. Fay, who wrote the infamous Circular to the Democratic workmen in the Sandwich Glass Company.

John Pickering, (son of Timothy Pickering,) and now Whig City Solicitor of Boston.

Thomas Greenleaf, of Quincy, a modern Whig, hard cider Harrisonite.

Minot Thayer, of Braintree, Whig member of the Legislature, Harrison runner, and getter up of hard cider carousals. Signed the Federal Whig protest against the admirable Address of Governor Morton. How this modern Whig stood in the war, will best be shown by the following pithy extract from the old Republican Patriot and Chronicle, which we hope to quote again, next November, when a true Democrat shall be chosen in place of this "headlong Federalist."

[From the Chronicle of May 13, 1813.]

"In *Braintree*, a Republican Representative has been chosen, by a very handsome majority, in the place of *MINOT THAYER*, a thorough-going, headlong Federalist."

He, too, is "where he ever has been and ever means to be."

Barnabas Hedge, of Plymouth, a prominent Whig, just deceased.

Nahum Mitchell, State Treasurer and Senator under Governor Strong, and a member of his Council; a Federal Judge, and now a Whig member of the Legislature from Boston; signed the protest against Governor Morton.

William Baylies, of Bridgewater, ex-member of Congress, from the district now represented by the talented Henry Williams; voted against the removal of the deposits. Mr. Baylies tried once to be a Jackson man, but it was in vain he washed his old Federalism and cried, "Out, damned spot." He went back again, and is now very active in the Log Cabin campaign; promised, it is said, to be elected U. S. Senator in place of John Davis, if he gets in Governor.

Samuel Crocker, of Taunton, holding a State office under Governor Everett, and member of a corporation which threatens to turn out all operatives that won't vote for Harrison.

Horatio Leonard, of Raynham, now the Whig Sheriff of Bristol county, an active Whig partisan.

James Crowell, of Yarmouth, holding a State office, and an active Federal agent, now and forever, of Mr. John Reed, the life member of Congress.

Joseph Bormun, of New Braintree, a Whig ex-Counsellor of Governor Lincoln in 1833.

Edmund Dright, now of Boston, Whig member of the Senate, and Director in the Western Railroad.

Ebenezer Mattoon, of Amherst, recently exhibited, at a Log Cabin gathering in Hampshire, as a Revolutionary veteran, in favor of the hero of Tippecanoe. Described before as a John Adams elector. His son, Ebenezer Mattoon, Jr., is one of the signers of the protest against Governor Morton.

Ephraim Hastings, of Heath, an ex-Whig Senator, and the defeated Harrison candidate in Franklin county, at the last election.

* *Thomas Longley*, of Hawley, a Federal Senator in 1824, and voted against Seth Sprague's motion to expunge the infamous resolution of J. Quincy, passed in 1813, that it was immoral and irreligious to rejoice at the victories of our country! Also delegate to a Whig convention that nominated Webster or Harrison in 1836, pledged to either or both. Mr. Longley was the man who attempted to carry the Antimasons of Massachusetts for Harrison or Webster, and failed in his plot. He was a Harrison elector in 1836.

There are others of lesser note, but these will suffice as a *sample* of the whole.

Not a man who signed this anti-war protest, except *one*, is now living, who ever voted any thing but the modern Whig ticket. How well they fulfil the meaning of the motto of "the significant banner" of the Boston Delegation at Baltimore,

"We are where we ever have been and ever mean to be!"

Of the protest against the war, (in Congress,) which these men approved, *WILLIAM SULLIVAN*, the Ambassador of the rebel Hartford Convention, says in his Familiar Letters, p. 318, *it is much superior to the Declaration of Independence!* This protest was drawn up by Josiah Quincy. The surviving Massachusetts members of Congress, who signed it, are Josiah Quincy, of Cambridge, and Laban Wheaton, of Norton, Whigs. It was also signed by Mr. Reed, father of John Reed, now Whig member of Congress, who voted against every measure to sustain the country during the

war, and by Thomas Wilson, a brother of General James Wilson, of New Hampshire, the Federal itinerant lecturer in Massachusetts.

This was just before the war. Now let us go into the war.

• WHO WERE THE MEN THAT OPPOSED THE WAR? WHERE ARE THE SURVIVORS NOW?

Governor Strong sent a message to the Massachusetts Legislature, June 23d, 1812, announcing and denouncing the war. It was referred to a committee. The only survivor of that committee is CHARLES JACKSON, of Boston, the Webster and Harrison elector in 1832. He reported an Address to the people, bitterly denouncing "Madison's war," which passed, 165 to 56.

A committee was forthwith appointed to report a fast "on account of the unexpected and calamitous declaration of war."

The only survivor of that committee is Edmund Dwight, now a Whig Senator for Suffolk.

SETH SPRAGUE, of Duxbury, (now a veteran Democrat, who sent a letter in support of the Independent Treasury to the Democratic celebration of the last 4th of July in that place, and was the Democratic candidate for Senator last fall,) was a State Senator in 1813, and, on his motion, Jan. 29, the Senate, then Democratic, (with *Marcus Morton*, now Governor, its clerk,) voted to build, provision and equip a 74 gun ship, to be called the *Massachusetts*, and present it to the United States Government, to be employed by President Madison, during the war.

This order was reported *against* in the House, by *Charles Jackson*, (the ex-Judge and Harrison elector above named,) and defeated, 310 to 159.

Of the 13 Senators who voted *against* the above, there are still living, Solomon Strong, (a Judge,) Silas Holman, Daniel A. White, (a Judge,) John Wells, Peter C. Brooks, and Harrison Gray Otis, all Whigs.

MEETING IN FANEUIL HALL, AGAINST THE WAR.

July 15th, 1812, a great meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, which denounced the war, and vilified James Madison. The most prominent actors in that meeting, were DANIEL SARGEANT, HARRISON GRAY OTIS, and JOSIAH QUINCY. They are now living, two in Boston and one in Cambridge, and are zealously contributing to try to elect General Harrison. Two of them recently furnished means toward erecting the miserable log cabin on Charles Street, in their ward.

Of Mr. Otis's philippic against Madison, at the Faneuil Hall meeting, the Federal historian says, "Like Demosthenes rousing the Athenians against Philip, his address awakened the citizens of Boston to a virtuous jealousy of the intrigues of France, and of those who are cooperating with her ruler to destroy the liberties of mankind."

FEDERAL MEETING IN MIDDLESEX.

July 15, 1812, a meeting of Federalists in Middlesex county denounced the war. Of the most prominent actors in that meeting, *four* are now living, and all ardent Whigs, viz.

SAM. S. P. FAY, Judge of Probate, recently chairman of a great Whig meeting, and father of R. S. Fay, author of the infamous Circular to the workmen in the Sandwich Glass Company.

NATHANIEL ARVIN, Agent of Warren Free Bridge, appointed by Governor Everett; and *Rev. Mr. Ripley*, now living in Concord, one of the

political preachers against the government in the war, and a uniform Federalist. *Isaac Fiske*, Registrar of Probate.

REBEL CONVENTION IN BOSTON.

This was held August 6, 1812. Col. Sumner, now ex-Adjutant General Sumner, (as above,) was secretary. Among the delegates, those now living are, *Charles Jackson*, (as above;) *Artemas Ward*, just resigned as Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas; *William Parsons*, son of Chief Justice Parsons, (an extreme Whig;) *Warren Dutton*, an ex-Whig member of the Council; and *Benjamin Gorham*, ex-Whig member of Congress; all now Harrisonites.

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, member of Congress, and one of the Whig Executive Committee for the Union, was also a delegate.

WORCESTER CONVENTION AGAINST THE WAR.

In August, 1812, a violent Federal Convention met in Worcester county. Francis Blake, the most rabid Federalist and disunionist of the day, (not now living,) was at its head. He drew up a declaration in caricature imitation of the Declaration of Independence, which the convention adopted. It was of a highly treasonable character, calling upon the people to withdraw from the government all voluntary aid.

This convention was composed of 80 members. Of these, 40 are known to be dead, 20 are not known to be living, probably dead, and the surviving twenty are every one known to be Harrison Whigs. We give their names.

Elijah Burbank, of Worcester; Nathaniel P. Denny, of Leicester; Nathaniel Chandler, of Petersham; Rufus Bullock, of Royalston, (Justice;) William Drury, of Holden, (Justice;) Samuel Read, of Uxbridge, (Whig member of the Legislature, 1837;) Nathan Howe, of Shrewsbury, (Justice;) Philip Delano, of New Braintree; Solomon Strong, (now a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas;) William Crawford, of Oakham, (County Commissioner;) Aaron Tufts, of Dudley, (Justice;) James Draper, of Spencer; Aaron White, of Boylston; Nathaniel Crocker and Braddock Livermore, of Paxton; Daniel Tenney, (Justice,) Artemas Bullard, and Jonathan Leland, (Justice,) of Sutton; Jonas Kendall, of Leominster, (of the Quorum;) and Salem Towne of Charlton, (Justice,) one of the committee to receive Mr. John Bell, at Worcester, in 1837.

John Davis, of Worcester, now the Harrison Federal candidate for governor, was not a member of that convention, being then at New Haven.

WHO WERE THE ACTORS IN THE HARTFORD CONVENTION, AND WHERE ARE THEY?

In October, 1814, Caleb Strong, the British Governor of Massachusetts, called an extra session of the Legislature, and sent them a message, denouncing the war.

On the 5th of October, *Mr. Loe*, of Lyman, Maine, (deceased,) moved to raise a committee, from all the N. England States, to go to Washington, and compel James Madison to resign; for having, "by the nefarious plans of his administration, RUINED THE COUNTRY!"

This old Tory threat of rebellion has since been copied by the Boston Atlas, in 1824, in calling for an army of 40,000 men, to go to Washington, and compel the tyrant Jackson to restore the deposits — and by Robert Gould, one of the Whig Com-

mittee of New York Merchants, in 1837, who declined being on a distress committee of fifty, but demanded 10,000 armed men, to force Mr. Van Buren to rescind the specie circular and take broken bank bills.

So uniformly does Federalism, from the beginning till now, run in the same kennel of vaporing, bullying, and rebellion!

This *Loco* motion, as the Chronicle and Patriot of that day called it, was the basis of the Hartford Convention which was reported Oct. 13, 1814.

THE HARTFORD CONVENTION ORIGINATED ABOLITION AS A MEANS OF DISUNION.

The 5th resolve was the test question of that measure, and to this we now call the attention of our Southern brethren, and the friends of the Union. It proves that old Tory Federalism was the father of *Abolitionism*, to dissolve the Union, as well as of modern British Whiggery.

The 5th resolve, after providing for delegates from the N. England States, to meet in Hartford, to redress grievances, and prepare for a separate defence, &c., adds—

“And also to take measures for procuring a convention of delegates from all the United States, in order to revise the Constitution thereof, and more effectually to secure the support and attachment of *all* the people, by placing *all* upon the basis of *fair representation*.”

This secret design of the Hartford Convention to disturb the original compromise of the Constitution as to slave representation, has been studiously concealed, until it has been entirely forgotten.

We will now demonstrate, that the Southern and Western Whigs, who support Daniel Webster's “standard-bearer,” in the person of Harrison, are directly allied with the Hartford Convention men, who were the *first disturbers of the Constitutional Compromise*, and that they called for disunion or abolition of the slave representation, during the war, precisely as the modern Abolitionists now do.

Mr. Harrison Gray Otis, in his published defence of the Hartford Convention, affirms that its proceedings were more in conformity with the public sentiment of the Federalists of Massachusetts than any measure which had been adopted by that State since the acceptance of the Federal Constitution. [Letter 3 to the editor of the Centinel.]

In another letter, (No. 9,) he says that one of the objects of that convention was “to diminish the representation of slaves.”

And this amendment was sought, not in the mode provided by the Constitution, but by a convention of all the States, (not the people, but the Legislatures,) which was a direct measure of revolution.

This is precisely what the extreme Abolitionists now contend for,—a dissolution of the Union,—or an amendment of the Constitution, by the force of a general convention, in order to give Congress power over slavery in the States.

Mr. Daniel Webster, one of the “standard-bearer's” aids, in the Harrison canvass, followed up this prominent object of the Hartford Convention, in a report made by him to a meeting of Federalists in Faneuil Hall, in 1816, in which he reported resolutions declaring it the duty of Congress to abolish the transfer or sale of slaves from one State to another.

This was cited, and made the basis of a report, in the Massachusetts Senate, in 1838, upon the petition of Judge Oliver B. Morris, the confiden-

tial abolition correspondent of Mr. William B. Calhoun; and the same resolve recommended by Mr. Webster, was passed, for interdicting the transfer of slaves between the States.

The report of the delegates of the Hartford Convention, was fully adopted by the Massachusetts Legislature, Jan. 27, 1815, by a vote of 159 to 48; Mr. Saltonstall in the affirmative.

That report affirms, that, as soon as the new administration was established, under Jefferson, a fixed determination was perceived, of changing the former system, (Hamilton's,) which had given to the nation a prodigious impulse toward prosperity. “Under the withering influence of this new system, the declension of the nation has been uniform and rapid.”

This everlasting cry of “*ruin*” would be enough, of itself, to identify the old Federal and modern Whig party. It is their never-failing *Shibboleth*, inasmuch that, during the last war, when a merchant of Philadelphia said to Timothy Pickering, that the country was abundant in resources to carry on the war, Mr. Pickering started in amazement, exclaiming, “*Why, sir, I thought you were a Federalist!*”

So it is now. The New York Journal of Commerce (a Whig press) insists that the country is prosperous, even with the Sub-Treasury, and all the Whig presses cry out against it, *Locofoco!* Every man who talks of his country's prosperity, is set down by the Whigs as a *Locofoco*.

But to come back to the *slave question*.

The Hartford Convention report, (p. 15,) after attributing all the evils in the world to Mr. Madison's administration, says—

“But it is not conceivable that the obliquity of any administration could, in so short a period, have so nearly consummated the work of national ruin, *unless favored by defects in the Constitution*. To enumerate all the improvements of which that instrument is susceptible, is a task this convention has not thought proper to assume.”

They then propose the indispensable amendments, and say—

“The first amendment proposed, relates to the *apportionment of Representatives among the slave-holding States*. This cannot be claimed as a *right*. Those states are entitled to the slave representation, by a constitutional compact. It is therefore merely a subject of *agreement*, which should be conducted upon principles of mutual interest and accommodation, and upon which *no sensibility* on either side should be permitted to exist. It has proved *UNJUST AND UNEQUAL* IN ITS OPERATION, and had this effect been foreseen, the *privilege* CERTAINLY WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN CONCEDED.”

In conformity to this recommendation, the Hartford Convention adopted, and the Federal Legislature of Massachusetts approved the following:—

“Resolved, That the following amendment of the Constitution of the United States be recommended to the States, to be proposed by them for adoption by the State Legislatures, and in such cases as may be deemed expedient, by a *convention chosen by the people* of each State. And it is further recommended that the said States *shall persevere in their efforts* to obtain such amendments, until the same shall be effected,” viz.:—

“First. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States, according to their respective numbers of *free persons*, excluding *Indians* not taxed, and *all other persons*.”

This was, in effect, the first public agitation of the dissolution of the Union, growing out of the slave question. Surely, then, it becomes a matter of vital interest to the friends of Union and State Rights, and of non-interference with the slave

question in the States, to look to the "standard-bearer" under whom Mr. Webster invites them to enlist. Neither can he be trusted on the other side, for he is secretly pledged to both, and will therefore betray both.

General Wilson, of New Hampshire, tells the people of Massachusetts, in his speeches through that State,

"That General Harrison owes his nomination to the Massachusetts Delegates to the Harrisburg Convention, and that he is therefore *emphatically the Massachusetts candidate* for the Presidency."

Mr. Webster says, to the Alexandria Whigs, (in his own name and that of Mr. John Davis, the Massachusetts Whig candidate for Governor,)

"We have made William Henry Harrison the bearer of our standard."

Two, at least, of the Harrisburg Delegates from Massachusetts, who secured the nomination of Harrison, were the elders of the old school, viz. Hon. Samuel Hoar, one of the strongest advocates of the Hartford Convention, and Hon. Nathaniel M. Davis, who was a member of the Legislature in 1814, and voted for it.

IDENTITY OF THE HARTFORD AND HARRISBURG CONVENTIONS.

Hon. *Leverett Salt-ntall*, one of the Whig Committee engaged in "*restoring the days of the patriot Presidents!*" voted for all the measures of the Hartford Convention, upon slave representation; he has just made a labored defence of that convention in Congress, and has affirmed that it was as innocent as the Harrisburg Convention.

He says this truly, for both conventions aimed at a sectional division of the country, and both struck at the rights of the Southern States; the former boldly and openly, the latter covertly and cowardly.

In 1814, the Southern and Western States upheld the country, in a most fearful crisis, when every State at the North, except Vermont, was under the control of the British party. Abolition was then highly popular at the North, and therefore the Hartford Convention seized upon it, as an adjunct to their designs of breaking down Virginia and the Republican Administration.

The *same men*, under their new name of Whigs, have now "made William Henry Harrison the bearer of their standard," and, by his *secret letters*, through the agencies of such Northern Federalists as William B. Cathoun, Evans, Gates, and others, are striving to secure the aid of the Abolitionists against the South, to enable them to put down the Democratic Administration of Mr. Van Buren.

Let the South ponder well on these teachings of the history of the past. Let the North never trust a man who, like General Harrison, "*patlers in a double sense.*"

WHO WERE THE HARTFORD CONVENTION LEADERS, AND WHERE ARE THEY NOW?

At his speech at Alexandria, June 11, 1840, Daniel Webster, who appointed General Harrison his "standard-bearer," exclaimed—

"Fellow-citizens, we must not stop or falter in our opposition to the administration, till our *lost prosperity is restored!*"

When the Federal Massachusetts Legislature assembled to oppose the war, preliminary to the Hartford Convention, *Benjamin Russell* exclaimed in his Centinel—

"All the Branches contain majorities of the friends of peace, and whatever can be done to *restore their country to its lost PROSPERITY*, will be attempted." [Boston Centinel, May 26.]

The Federal measure to restore *lost prosperity*, in 1814, was the Hartford Convention. The Whig measure, to do the same in 1840, is to restore the lost influence of the Hartford Convention men, by means of the Harrisburg Convention, under Harrison and hard cider!

LIST OF SURVIVORS WHO VOTED FOR THE HARTFORD CONVENTION.

In the Massachusetts Senate, October 8, 1814, Harrison Gray Otis reported the bill for the Hartford Convention, which was carried, 22 to 12. Its principal advocates were Messrs. Otis, Quincy, and White, all now Whigs. Of those who voted for it, there are now living,

Josiah Quincy, President of Harvard College, *Harrison Gray Otis*, *Thomas H. Perkins*, and *Daniel Sargeant*, of Boston.

Essex.—*Samuel Putnam*, a Judge of the Supreme Court, appointed by Governor Strong; *Daniel A. White*, of Salem, Judge of Probate and President of a Bank panic meeting, and also of the great Whig dinner, given to Daniel Webster in 1834, when the *decapitated figure-head* of the Frigate Constitution was exhibited by Parker H. Pierce, then Chairman of the Boston Whig Committee of Safety, and subsequently the fugitive President of the Whig Commercial Bank. *Caleb Foote*, the furious Whig Editor of the Salem Gazette, and an ex-member of Governor Everett's Council, is Judge White's son-in-law.

Worcester.—*Silas Holman*, of Bolton, holds a State office from a Whig Governor.

Hampden and Franklin.—*Samuel Lathrop*, *Samuel C. Allen*.

Bristol.—*Samuel Crocker*, of Taunton, member of a great Whig Corporation, and an officeholder.

Plymouth.—*WILKES WOOD*, Judge of Probate, and now nominated for HARRISON ELECTOR for Plymouth District, by the Whig Convention, held at Worcester, the 17th of June last—voted for and to approve the Hartford Convention, and to send Ambassadors to Washington.

Judge Wood headed the hard cider procession, with canoes and cabins, that marched from Middleborough to Bridgewater, the 4th of July last, to hear Robert C. Winthrop, Esq., the Whig Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives. Wilkes Wood was chosen a Federal Senator from Plymouth, in 1814, over NATHAN WILLIS, then of Rochester, who was a Republican Senator for that county in 1813, with Seth Sprague, and voted with him for his resolve to build a 74 gun ship, for the use of the United States, to carry on the war, and against Josiah Quincy's resolution not to rejoice at our naval victories. He was Chairman of the Committee that reported that *Marcus Morton* was chosen Clerk of the Senate in 1813. Mr. Willis, now of Berkshire, is the *Democratic Candidate* for Lieutenant-Governor, while Mr. Wood is a candidate for Harrison Elector!

Of the above 11 survivors, out of the 22 who voted for the Hartford Convention in the Senate, all but *one* are Whigs and Harrison men. Mr. Allen, of Franklin, is a decided Democrat. He was one of those whom Mr. Otis described as not exactly Federalists, but "*the flying squad.*" In his 8th letter, Mr. Otis speaks of "*the Federalists,*"

(or persons composing the majority,) for, he adds, there were among them a few of the "*flying squad*" in both Houses, in the session of 1814, when the convention was formed. Mr. Allen declined voting on the first motion for the Hartford Convention.

Neither can we positively speak as to Mr. Lathrop, who has taken no part in politics for some time. All the rest are earnest supporters of Harrison. They are

"Where they ever have been and ever mean to be."

SURVIVING MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE.

It is a difficult task to obtain a full list from so numerous a body. In what we have got, we have taken great pains, and carefully studied accuracy. If there is any error, it is inadvertent, and we beg it may be pointed out.

In the House the years were 260, nays 90;—for Maine, 41 years, 21 nays; for Massachusetts Proper, 219 years, 60 nays. Those belonging to Massachusetts, who voted for the convention, and are ascertained to be now living, are as follows, as accurately as we can learn. We attach the Whig offices they now hold.

Boston.—Jonathan Hunnewell, (an ex-Whig Senator.) Stephen Codman, (of the Quorum.) Benjamin Russell, (a Justice, ex-Editor of the Boston Centinel, toaster of Harrison the last 4th of July, ex-member of Governor Everett's Council, &c. &c.) Benjamin Whitman, (ex-Judge of Police under Governors Lincoln and Davis; of the Quorum.) William H. Sumner, (now of Roxbury, ex-Adjutant-General, and Justice of the Quorum.) Benjamin Weld, (now of Maine.) Oliver Keating, of Chelsea, Daniel Messinger and William Harris, (who were on the Committee that gave a pretended *Mechanics'* Dinner to Daniel Webster, Prentiss, of Missouri, and Menifee, of Kentucky, in Faneuil Hall, July, 1838; both have been members of the House.) George G. Lee, (formerly of the Essex Junto,) Lynde Walter, (Justice Peace.) Lemuel Shaw, (Chief Justice of Supreme Court, appointed by Governor Lincoln.) Thomas Barry, Richard Sullivan, (holds a State office,) Benjamin Gorham, (ex-Whig member of Congress,) William Sturgis, (recently of the Senate and House; made a speech in the 10 cent rebellion in Faneuil Hall, May, 1837; said to the enraged assembly that Amos Kendall would be *cut up*, if he was present.)

ESSEX COUNTY.

Salem.—Dudley L. Pickman, (member of House in 1834, voted to denounce Jackson for veto of the Bank.) Benjamin Hawkes, Elisha Mack, (Judge of Police Court.) John Glen King, (of the Quorum,) and LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, (Whig member of Congress, of the Harrison Executive Committee, defender of the (Hartford Convention) faith in Congress, restorer of patriot Presidents; described by John Quincy Adams as "just such a monarchist as Jonathan Jackson, one of the Essex Junto, was!" delegate to the "Rebel Convention," with Timothy Pickering, in 1812; master of ceremonies to receive John Bell, when he laid Tennessee at the feet of Webster, in 1837. &c. &c.)

[Mr. Saltonstall must still be a Federalist, or a very bad man, for he says, "A Federalist turned Democrat is the worst of all politicians."]

Robert Emery, another Salem member, is now of Springfield. E. H. Derby is also living.

Danvers.—Nathan Felton, Sylvester Osborn.

Ipswich.—Joseph Farley, (Justice of Peace.)

Beverly.—Robert Rantoul, Nathaniel Goodwin, (Cassier of Plymouth Bank.)

Gloucester.—James Appleton, Jonathan Kimball, (now of Salem.)

Rosely.—Thomas Gage, jr., (now senior; Whig member of the House in 1833, a Justice.)

Newbury.—Josiah Little.

Newburyport.—Jonathan Gage, (Justice of the Peace,) Isaac Adams, (now of Methuen,) Samuel Newman, (now of Andover.)

Borford.—Parker Spofford.

Andover.—Timothy Osgood.

Haverhill.—David Howe, (Justice.)

MIDDLESEX COUNTY.

Charlestown.—Joseph Hurd, (now of Stoneham,) John Soley, (of the Quorum.)

Cambridge.—William Hilliard, (member of the House in 1833, recently deceased,) Royal Makepeace, (Stock Agent of the Canton Co. at Baltimore.)

Malden.—Dudley Hall, (of the Quorum.)

Weston.—Isaac Fiske, (Register of Probate.)

Frammingham.—Abner Wheeler, (of the Quorum, County Commissioner, and a Whig candidate for Senator.)

Reading.—Timothy Wakefield, (Justice of the Peace.)

Groton.—Luther Lawrence, (very recently deceased; Whig Mayor of Lowell.)

NORFOLK COUNTY.

Quincy.—Thomas Greenleaf, (Secretary of the Federal Convention that nominated John Brooks for Governor, in 1822, and now a Justice for the Commonwealth. He is the only survivor of the seven out of all *Republican* Norfolk, who voted for the Hartford Convention.)

PLYMOUTH COUNTY.

Plymouth.—Barnabas Hedge, (just deceased, a Justice,) Benjamin Brimhall, (now of Quincy,) NATHANIEL M. DAVIS, (now a Whig Counsellor, elected by a Whig Legislature to advise Governor Morton, member of the Harrisburg Convention.)

BRISTOL COUNTY.

Taunton.—Jonathan Ingalls.

Raynham.—John Gilmore, (Justice Peace.)

Norton.—Isaac Hodges.

Somerset.—David Anthony, (Justice.)

Berkley.—Apollon Tohy, (now of New Bedford, a Justice of the Quorum.)

Troy, (now Fall River.)—Joseph E. Reed, (a big Whig, member of Bristol County Whig Convention.)

Westport.—Abner Brownell, (of the Quorum.)

New Bedford.—Jereh Swift, (then Jun.,) J. Williams.

BARNSTABLE COUNTY.

Yarmouth.—James Crowell, (Justice and Commissioner.)

Wellfleet.—Josiah Whitman, (Justice and ex-Postmaster, a Whig.)

[NANTUCKET AND DUKES COUNTY sent no member.]

WORCESTER COUNTY.

Spencer.—James Draper.

Uxbridge.—Daniel Carpenter, Samuel Read, (of the Legislature in 1837.)

Grafton.—Jonathan Wheeler.

Lancaster.—William Cleveland.

Bolton.—Stephen P. Gardner, (of the Quorum.)

Sterling.—Samuel Sawyer, Thomas H. Blood.

Paxton.—David Davis, (then Jun.)

Nine Braintree.—Joseph Bowman, (then Jun., member of John Davis's Council in 1834,) Justice

HAMPSHIRE COUNTY.

Southampton. — Asabel Birge, (Justice.)

Middlefield. — John Dixon, (Justice.)

Granby. — David Smith, (Justice.)

Amherst. — Simeon Strong, (Justice.) Noah Webster, (of dictionary fame, an ardent Whig, in Connecticut.) [Not one *Wag* in all Hampshire.]

HAMPTON COUNTY.

Longmeadow. — Calvin Burt.

Palmer. — Alpheus Converse.

Barnford. — Alanson Knox.

Chester. — Asabel Wright.

FRANKLIN COUNTY.

Shelburne. — William Wells, (Justice.)

Hawley. — Thomas Longley, (before described.)

Ashfield. — Enos Smith, (now of Granby.)

BERKSHIRE COUNTY.

Lanesborough. — Henry Hubbard, (Counsellor of Governor Lincoln in 1833, Whig member of the House, 1836, and of the Quorum.)

[**E** Eighty-five members of the House, who voted for the Hartford Convention, now living, (except three just deceased;) and of these all but two are known members of the present Whig party, and supporters of Harrison!

+ Adding the eleven surviving Senators and the six surviving members of the Hartford Convention, who were not of the Legislature in 1814, and of this aggregate of *ninety-nine* survivors, all but *three* are modern Whigs and Harrisonites!

Of the sixty-nine Massachusetts members who voted *against* the Hartford Convention, but *twelve* survive. Of these, *eight* are still Democrats, one unknown, and but *three* are Harrison Whigs, viz. Lincoln, of Worcester, Gurney, of Boston, and Fish, of Falmouth.

SURVIVING MEMBERS OF THE HARTFORD CONVENTION.

The Massachusetts Legislature chose these delegates to the convention, in convention, October 15, 1814. The Federalists cast 215 votes, — the Republicans all refusing to act in this treasonable proceeding.

The survivors of the Massachusetts delegates are, Hon. S. S. Wilde, (Judge of the Supreme Court;) Harrison Gray Otis, (a member of Congress in 1800, and voted for Aaron Burr against Jefferson;) William Prescott, (an ex-Judge and Justice for the commonwealth;) Hodge Baylies, (Judge of Probate till 1834;) Daniel Waldo, (Justice of the Quorum;) Stephen Longfellow, of Portland; Joseph Lyman, (Sheriff of Hampshire, and commissioner to qualify officers;) and Thomas H. Perkins, (one of the commissioners to treat with the President; signed the Whig handbill, in 1832, that Pennsylvania had gone against Jackson.)

Of Governor Strong's Council, who advised the Hartford Convention, two only survive, and both are Whigs, viz. Nahum Mitchell, member of the House, and Benjamin Pickman, the son of a distinguished Tory of the revolution, member of the Essex Junto, and one of the committee to celebrate, in Boston, the restoration of the Bourbons.

The only known survivors out of that convention, out of Massachusetts, are correctly ascertained to be Calvin Goddard, and Roger M. Sherman, of Connecticut, Benjamin Hazard, of Rhode Island, and Josiah Dunham, a supernumerary from Vermont, now in Lexington, Kentucky. They are all Harrison Whigs.

+ Here are one hundred and five of the direct original Hartford Convention school now prominent Whigs, and Democrats, (?) as is pretended, of

the Jefferson school! Add to these other survivors who supported legislative measures to get up or approve that convention, 17 in number, and the prominent men in the primary conventions, still living, 18 in number; and it gives an aggregate of *one hundred and forty-seven* men of that school, nearly all in Massachusetts, who are principal advisers and actors in the efforts to restore the days of the black cockade, and in the language of their expounder, Mr. Webster, "*have made William H. Harrison the bearer of their standard!*"

Who can doubt the character of that flag, when these are the men who rally under it? Who can deny the aptness of the motto on "the significant banner?"

"We are where we ever have been and ever mean to be!"

Trace it still farther. Mr. Otis, in his defence of that convention, (which Mr. Saltonstall, as one of the Harrison Executive Committee, declares was a *patriotic* body,) remarks that the actors in that convention have continued to receive in Massachusetts ample testimonials of public confidence.

This is true. In fact, the principal offices in the State are now held by them; and of those whose names are given in this list, *ninety-two* now hold offices of Whig appointment.

To these men, the prominent Whig counsellors in Massachusetts, General Wilson says, is owing the nomination of General Harrison! Massachusetts did it, and if the Whig party of Massachusetts directed the movement, who doubts that it is what Judge Hopkins, of Pennsylvania, described, viz., the old Federal party striving again to get into power?

JOSIAH QUINCY'S RESOLVE.

As another test of identity, we will trace the resolve offered by Josiah Quincy, and adopted by the Federal Senate of Massachusetts, just 11 days after the gallant Lawrence was killed on board the Chesapeake, the news of which had just been confirmed in Boston. A resolve was pending for a vote of thanks to Captain James Lawrence for the capture of the Peacock by the Hornet. Instead of adopting that resolution, it was voted, on Josiah Quincy's motion,

January, 15, 1813, "That in a war like the present, waged without justifiable cause, it is not becoming a MORAL and RELIGIOUS PEOPLE to EXPRESS ANY APPROBATION OF MILITARY OR NAVAL EXPLOITS, WHICH ARE NOT IMMEDIATELY CONNECTED WITH THE DEFENCE OF OUR SEA-COAST AND SOIL."

The *Index* of the old Senate Journal describes this resolve thus — "Declaring it unbecoming a moral and religious people to express approbation of success in such a war."

It was passed without the yeas and nays. February 12, a motion to *erase it* from the journal was reported against by a committee who say in their report that

"The resolve of the 13th of June is in itself highly correct and expedient to form the grounds of constitutional opposition and patriotic discouragement to the prosecution of the war."

This passed, 20 to 8; and the survivors who voted for it were Josiah Quincy, Thomas H. Perkins, Samuel Putnam, Silas Holman, Daniel A. White, S. C. Allen, Solomon Strong, Nahum Mitchell, and James Richardson, of Dedham — all but Mr. Allen prominent Harrison men, and all now holding Whig State offices, three of them being judges in the land.

The Massachusetts Senate continued in Federal hands till 1824, when William Eastis, Secretary of War under Madison during the war, was elected

Democratic Governor of Massachusetts, and Marcus Morton, Lieutenant-Governor.

Seth Sprague, now a Democrat, who had voted against the Quincy resolution in 1814, was a member again in 1824. On his motion, it was resolved, 22 to 15,

January 17, 1824, "That the resolve of the 15th of June, 1813, and the preamble thereof, be, and the same are hereby **EXPUNGED** from the journals of the senate."

The survivors who voted against expunging, are Thomas H. Perkins, and Peter C. Brooks, of Boston, (father-in-law of Governor Everett,) S. P. Gardner, of Bolton; Thomas Longley, of Hawley, (who, in April 14, 1836, supported in the Massachusetts Legislature a law to be passed by Congress requiring *twenty-one years' residence* in the United States of all foreigners before they shall be allowed to vote!) Aaron Tufts, of Dudley, (committee to receive John Bell;) Benjamin Gorham, (afterwards sent to Congress;) Lewis Strong, and Joseph Strong, Jun. (now Whigs in New York. Lewis Strong is a son of Governor Strong.) Nathaniel P. Denny, and Samuel Hubbard, of Boston.

Ten out of the fifteen are now living, all Whigs, and each of them holding an office from a Whig governor! Of the twenty-two who voted for expunging, thirteen survive, of whom nine are Democrats and four Whigs.

The names of the fourteen survivors in Massachusetts who voted against the Hartford Convention, are, Eleazer C. Richardson, of Lynn; John Wade, of Woburn; Prastus Worthington and Abner Ellis, of Dedham; Gad Warriner, of West Springfield, (a revolutionary pensioner;) William P. Walker, of Lenox; Phineas Allen, of Pittsfield; Aaron Hobart, Jr. of Hanover; William P. Rider and John Spurr, of Charlton, (Mr. Spurr was the Democratic candidate for Senator last year;) Christopher Webb, of Weymouth; Nathan Gurney, Jr., of Abington, (now a Whig Alderman of Boston;) Thomas Fish, of Falmouth; and Levi Lincoln, of Worcester. Of these fifteen, there are but *four* Harrison men, including Mr. Webb, of Weymouth, who has long been enfeebled. The rest continue Democrats.

OFFICES HELD BY HARTFORD CONVENTION MEN.

Of the survivors of the Federal party, who voted for the Hartford Convention, or against the war, in the Massachusetts Legislature, and were in that convention, *sixty-eight* now hold civil offices under Whig appointments. Among them are *twenty-nine* of the most important offices in the state, viz. 1 Chief Justice of Supreme Court, 2 Judges of Supreme Court, 1 Judge of Common Pleas, 2 Judges of Police, 5 Judges of Probate, 1 Treasurer of the Commonwealth, 1 Member of Congress, 2 Registers of Probate, 1 Counsellor of State, 2 Commissioners, 1 City Solicitor, 2 Sheriffs, 1 President of Harvard College, 1 Agent of Militia Claims, and 6 Members of the Legislature, all modern Whigs.

Verily are these men made judges and rulers over us!

THE HARRISON ELECTORS AND HARTFORD CONVENTION.

Of the fourteen candidates now in nomination for Harrison electors in Massachusetts, all but two apostates are *old Federalists*, viz.

ISAAC C. BATES, Secretary of the Hampshire, Hampden, and Franklin Rebellion Convention to resist the war, July, 1812, and orator of the Wash-

ington Benevolent Society, and one of the Federal Committee of Safety, to oppose the Government during the war, &c. &c. [Mr. Bates continues his warlike propensities against his own government. At a recent Whig gathering at Greenfield, he advised the Whigs, if they could obtain redress in no other manner, to take down their muskets, and pick their flints!]

JOSEPH B. THOMAS, another Harrison elector, is a Federal son of *Joshua Thomas*, a member of the Hartford Convention.

ROBERT G. SHAW, another, was a member of the *Washington Benevolent Society* in 1813, '14, organized as Federal clubs to oppose the war. [See Stebbins's Directory of 1813.]

GEORGE GRINNELL, another elector, was a member of the same Federal conspiracy, and one of the Committee of *Safety!* appointed in 1812, by the Hampshire and Franklin Federal Convention, to oppose the war.

WILKES WOOD, another elector, voted for the Hartford Convention measures, in the Massachusetts Senate; voted to approve the acts of that convention; voted *against* a vote of thanks to Andrew Jackson for the battle of New Orleans; voted *against* admitting Louisiana into the Union; voted *not to provide* for the U. S. direct tax to sustain the war in 1814; &c. &c. &c.

WHIG OFFICE-HOLDERS.

Every *one* of these candidates for electors is a Whig office-holder, viz. Mr. *Bates*, Agent of Militia Claims; Mr. *Shaw*, Commissioner for building the Custom-house, President of a Board and Director of Railroad; Mr. *Phillips*, Mayor of Salem; Mr. *Sprague*, Justice of the Quorum; Mr. *Willard*, a State Senator; Mr. *Barton*, Judge of Probate; Mr. *Wood*, Judge of Probate; Mr. *Grinnell*, Master in Chancery; Mr. *Pomeroy*, Justice of the Quorum; Mr. *Minter*, Justice for the Commonwealth; Mr. *French*, Justice of the Quorum; Mr. *Tripp*, the same; and Mr. *Thomas*, Clerk of the Courts. Mr. *Longley* is only a Justice of Peace.

This may serve as a specimen of the *sincerity* of the Whig horror of office-holders.

FEDERAL ELECTORS WHO VOTED AGAINST MONROE.

The Massachusetts Legislature chose twenty-two electors, Nov. 1816, to vote for Rufus King, the Federal candidate for President, against James Monroe. They had 198 votes in the Legislature, which then contained but 46 Democrats, who refused to vote.

Of those electors, *seven* are now living, all *Harrison men*, viz. Benjamin Pickman, Samuel S. Wilde, Daniel A. White, Thos. H. Perkins, and Stephen Longfellow, already described in the foregoing list. Also, Joseph Locke, Judge of Police in Lowell, and Jonas Kendall, of Leominster.

Rev. *Henry Colman*, now Whig Commissioner on Agricultural Survey, appointed by Governor Everett, was the *Messenger* to carry the votes to Washington.

OLD FEDERALISTS NOW IN CONGRESS FROM MASS.

In the present Massachusetts delegation, there are, *Daniel Webster*, the bitter opposer of the war from the beginning, and *John Davis*, the author of the Worcester 4th of July Oration in 1816; *Leverett Saltonstall*, who supported the Hartford Convention in the House; *Abbott Lawrence*, a member of the "Washington Benevolent Society" to resist the war; [see Stebbins's Directory, 1813:] *John Reed*, elected to Congress in 1813, over

I. L. Greene, who had voted for the war. Mr. Reed was a member of the Barnstable Federal Rebellion Convention to denounce the war, of which "Squire David Scudder" was President. While in Congress, he voted against every possible measure to sustain the war, and virulently denounced Madison and Jefferson. *William S. Hastings*, a uniform Federalist, is the son of Seth Hastings, a Federal member of Congress in 1801, who voted for Burr against Jefferson. *Wm. B. Calhoun*, always a Federalist and U. S. Bank man, supported the ten million Bank in Massachusetts. *John Quincy Adams* need only be named. *Levi Lincoln* is an apostate republican, now acting with the men who opposed his father, Levi Lincoln, from 1800 to his death, and the son till his desertion in 1826. Mr. *Briggs*, we believe, is also an apostate. *Cushing* is too young to have acted in the war, but has since been plated all over with the *Silver Greys* and petted by the Essex Junto.

WILLIAM PARMENTER, who now supports Mr. Van Buren, was Secretary of a Republican Middlesex Convention, to nominate officers in 1814, and a uniform war Democrat.

MASS. REPRESENTATIVES IN CONGRESS DURING THE WAR.

Of these, every living man then from Massachusetts but one who opposed the war in Congress, is now a *Harrison man*, viz. *Solomon Strong*, (Judge;) *John Reed*, (now a member;) *Laban Wheaton*, *William Baylies*, *Harrison Gray Otis*, *Josiah Quincy*, *Artemus Ward*, and *Daniel Webster*, then of N. H.

Massachusetts, since the Constitution, has elected 175 men as members of Congress. Of these, 49 are now living; 37 were elected as *Federalists*, and of these all but two are now *Harrison men*; 12 were elected as Democrats, among them *Marcus Morton*, and all but five are now opposed to *Harrison*; (2 doubtful.) The apostates are *Crowningshield*, *John Holmes*, (a Federalist in 1804,) *Shaw*, *Silsbee*, and *Judge Story*.

THE OLD FEDERAL NEWSPAPERS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

These are all now supporters of *Harrison*, viz.:

The Boston Daily Advertiser, *Repertory*, *Centinel*, *Palladium*, and *Gazette*, united as the *Advertiser*, edited by *Nathan Hale*, one of the standing committee of the Washington Benevolent Society during the war. One extract from his paper will show where he ever has been and ever means to be.

"My plan is to withhold our money and make a separate peace with England." [*Boston Daily Advertiser*, 1814.]

The Boston Evening Gazette, a *Harrison* paper, is conducted by *W. W. Clapp*, who was printer of the *Daily Advertiser*, and a member of the Washington Benevolent Society during the war.

The Transcript, another *Harrison* press, is edited by a son of a member of the above society, who voted for the *Hartford Convention*.

The Courier, another *Harrison* paper, is edited by *Joseph T. Buckingham*, who now glories in the declaration, "*I will live and die in the faith of the Hartford Convention.*"

The reasons why he supports *Harrison* are thus given by himself:—

[From the *Boston Courier*, July 18, 1840.]

The Hon. Mr. *Fowler*, who was a member of Congress with *Harrison*, has published a letter, in which he says that he knew *Harrison* as a supporter of the

elder *Adams*, and that he has seen him wear the black cockade. [*Morning Post*.]

[*Well*—he could not have worn a more honorable badge, nor could he have supported a better man. Now, we shall certainly go for *Harrison*. [*Courier*.]

The Whig Republican, a vehement *Harrison* paper, has just been started in Boston by Dr. *Joseph Palmer*, editor of the *Centinel* till transferred to the *Advertiser*. Mr. *Buckingham*, of the *Courier*, thus vouches for him:—

"He has one qualification, which we are almost afraid to name, lest it may do him an injury with some of our exclusive patriots; but yet we feel so proud of the concurrence of sentiment on political matters, which has always existed between us, that we cannot refrain from adding that Dr. *Palmer* is a pupil of the old school of Washington and *Adams Federalism*—true to the heart's core, and not ashamed to avow his principles."

The Boston Atlas was not established until 1832. It has uniformly been under the control of the Boston Federalists, and outstripped all others in abuse of *Jackson*, *Van Buren*, and *Morton*, and in supporting *Hartford Convention* men and the United States Bank. The Federalists of Boston make it their principal *Harrison* organ.

Throughout Massachusetts there is not now a paper which opposed the war, that is not a supporter of General *Harrison*.

The Worcester Spy, now one of the most virulent *Harrison* papers, is also the oldest Federal press in Massachusetts. In 1814 it was edited by *John Davis*, who is now the *Whig* candidate for governor against *Marcus Morton*. The following extracts from Mr. *Davis's* editorials, in the midst of the war, just after he had exulted at the burning of the Capitol, the 24th of August, 1814, will show where he ever has been and ever means to be.

[Extracts from the *Spy*, edited by *John Davis*, in 1814.]

"We have uniformly entered our solemn protest against this desolating war, which originated in the wicked, malignant passions of a corrupt and imbecile government."

"No republican people were ever so harassed, perplexed, and disgraced, by a captious and corrupt set of rulers, as the people of this country."*

"Such a government is worse than none."

"The truth is, our Democrats love to talk of war, and swagger, and boast, and vaunt, but they abhor fighting. When danger approaches, they skulk like dastardly poltroons."

"The evils the Federalists have long predicted, are thickening upon us, and in our affliction let us always remember, it is *James Madison* and his party that have brought these calamities on us."

"We hope, and believe, the people will soon be convinced, that Mr. *Madison* is totally incompetent to hold the reins of government."

"If the people have not become stocks and stones, so as to bear any thing, they must feel ashamed of their President, and their indignation will never subside till he is IMPEACHED, and the government committed to other hands."

"This wanton waste of property, this perverse neglect of duty, is sufficient to brand any administration with eternal infamy."

In this violent Federal press, Mr. *John Davis*, as its editor, applied the following epithets to *JAMES MADISON*:—

"This modern Nero—this worthless confederate of Bonaparte."—"Despised at home and abroad."—

* Almost the words used by *Abbott Lawrence*, the *Whig* member of Congress from Boston, at the ten cent rebellion meeting about specie for postage, in Faneuil Hall, May 17, 1837.—"No people on God's earth has ever so trampled on and abused by their rulers as the people of the United States," said Mr. *Lawrence*.

"This obstinate, infatuated man,—plunges us into a wanton, wicked war—a *cringing coward*."—"Our cowardly Captain-General galloped his poor beast thirty miles from the battle ground."—"The baseness, cowardice, and perfidy of James Madison."—"The crazy head"—"disgraceful conduct—idle vaunting and braggadocio; the more cowardly he acts, the more heroically he talks," &c. &c.

"The conduct of such a man, [says John Davis,] is in the highest measure disgusting and degrading! Can we wonder that England dallies with us, when she has such a BUFFOON to deal with?"

Such is the old Federal frenzy of John Davis, the man these pretended "Harrison Democrats," and "Jefferson disciples," now seek to make Governor of Massachusetts, over one of the truest Democrats that ever lived.

Thus much for the identity of old Hartford Convention Federalism in Massachusetts, with the modern British Whig Harrison party.

The same result might be shown in the other New England States, and elsewhere. We have not access to the records. A sample will suffice.

VIRGINIA.

The Richmond Enquirer of August, 1840, states the fact, that in 1800 the city of Richmond gave 254 votes for John Adams. 33 survive, and all but one are Harrison men. 91 voted for Jefferson; 6 survive, and all but one are for Van Buren.

CONNECTICUT.

Two members of the Hartford Convention, and the secretary of that convention, are now living, viz. ROGER M. SHERMAN, CALVIN GODDARD, and THEODORE DWIGHT. All are Harrison Whigs. The *Connecticut Courant*, the organ of the Whig party in that State, and always a Federal paper, is edited by Theodore Dwight. It is not excelled for bitterness, intolerance, and every thing anti-Democratic.

A friend in Hartford writes—"So far as I am informed, the connections of every member of the Hartford Convention from this state are 'Whigs.' TRUMAN SMITH, the member of Congress, and one of the Whig Executive Committee with Saltonstall, Clarke, Botts, &c., is a nephew of Nathaniel Smith, a deceased member of that convention."

VERMONT OLD FEDERALISTS AND HARRISON MEN.

Hon. C. P. Van Ness, in a recent address before a Democratic Convention, in Vermont, states the following fact:—

"In the year 1813, the Federalists obtained a majority in the House of Assembly of this State. A resolution was proposed that the members of both Houses should convene, on a day mentioned, to offer up thanks to Almighty God for the victory obtained by the American army under Harrison, near the river Thames, over the combined forces of the British and Indians. On the question of passing the resolution, ninety-five, all Republicans, voted in favor of it, and every Federalist against it, there being one hundred and eight Federalists (that is, for war with their own government,) and I affirm, that but one of these has come over to our party. I also find that thirty-three of them are now dead. BUT OF THE SEVENTY-FIVE LIVING ONES, EVERY MAN—except the ONE already alluded to—IS A THOROUGH-GOING MODERN WHIG."

In an address before the Mountain State Democratic Association, July 19th, 1840, C. G. Eastman, Esq., cites notices calling meetings of the Washington Benevolent Society, by its Secretaries and Committees, to oppose the war, from 1812

to 1815, which were signed by HORACE EVERETT, (now Whig Member of Congress,) David Pierce, (now Judge of the County Court,) Thomas F. Hammond, (now Judge of Probate,) Oel Billings, (now Register of Probate,) Darius Jones, (editor of a Whig Harrison paper,) and Norman Williams, (Clerk of the Court,) all leaders of the present Whig party. Mr. Everett, the member of Congress, was "Agent of the Washingtonian" in 1814, a vile Federal print, published by Josiah Dunham, a volunteer member of the Hartford Convention, and now a live Whig!

THE WASHINGTON BENEVOLENT SOCIETIES.

The character of these treasonable Federal Clubs, which perverted the name of Washington, as the modern Federalists do that of *Whig* and *Democrat*, and their close affinity to the present Whig Associations, with their Harrison banners, shows and parades, will be seen from the following facts.

The Preamble of the Constitution of the Massachusetts W. B. Society, organized February, 1812, says—

"The W. B. Society of Massachusetts was founded by a number of patriotic (!) young men, determined to exert themselves to *restore* the reign of Washington principles and measures, and to relieve those of their brethren, who, by the *pressure of the times*, might be reduced from a state of competency to wretchedness and ruin."

This is the origin of the modern Whig cry of *ruin*, laid to the Administration. It was also the same trick now practised to seduce the laboring classes. Each member was required to sign a *pledge*, as the Whig Harrison Clubs now require, and there were to be monthly meetings and addresses, and public celebrations and parades. William Sullivan, the Hartford Convention Ambassador, thus describes these Federal Clubs, in his Familiar Letters of 1834, page 325:—

"In 1812 the opponents of the Administration (Madison) found it *necessary to combine*, to obtain that *protection* which their rulers seemed voluntarily to have *withdrawn*. For such reasons they associated under the name of the "Washington Benevolent Societies," throughout the state, (Massachusetts.) The different vocations among the mechanics had their respective *banners*, bearing appropriate emblems of their calling. There were *other banners*, which bore the mottoes of peace, union, fidelity, patriotism, &c. In the annual *processions* these banners were carried *through the streets*. The frowns and attempts of the *near party* (Democrats) to make these Societies objects of suspicion, and render them odious, served only to strengthen them, and convince their members of their necessity. *If the day shall ever come when the like perils shall overtake the good citizens of the United States, LET THEM REMEMBER THIS EXAMPLE.*"

Who can doubt that this hint of Mr. Sullivan has led to the present Tippecanoe Clubs, with their banners, parades, pledges, log cabins, and hard cider!

Mr. Sullivan adds,—"*When the causes which produced these combinations [the war] ceased, these also ceased; but their banners are still preserved, and are occasionally produced to decorate the "Cradle of Liberty."*"

Some of these banners have been exhibited, together with a portrait of *Caleb Strong*, the Federal governor in the war, at recent Harrison meetings in Massachusetts. One, at least, was at the convention that nominated John Davis for Governor.

THOMAS POWER, Esq., was the Whig orator for the 4th of July last, in the city of Boston. This

same gentleman delivered an oration, July 4th, 1815, before the Washington Benevolent Society, at Warwick, Mass. He now goes strong for Harrison, is Clerk of a Court, and is one of the pretended "Jefferson school," in the Atlas Harrison tactics. In his oration in 1815, he said —

"Jefferson imported a French editor, to subvert *Federal* principles, and establish *his own* on their ruins. This man was exalted to the highest office by the unceasing exertions of a party, which, under the various names of DEMOCRATS, Jacobins, and Republicans, retained the same principles and views by which they were first distinguished. Charity can never form a veil to hide the dark atrocities which signalize that memorable period; [Jefferson's administration.] From that time the clouds of adversity blackened our political horizon, and the sun of Liberty was dimmed with the pestilential vapors of a desperate faction."

Of MADISON, he says —

"Mr. Jefferson's best act was now performed; he retired from office. To him succeeded Madison. A perfect parallel in political feeling, he pursued the same ruinous course; — a mere satellite, and appendage to a wretch whose friendship is founded in perfidy."

"The events of the late war completely characterize the Administration. It was commenced in wickedness, prosecuted with weakness, and closed with disgrace!"

"The Administration has nearly ruined our commerce, lost some of the most lucrative branches of trade, and brought poverty and distress on a great portion of the country."

After Mr. Thomas Power had achieved this brilliant oration in 1815, the Federalists gave him this affecting toast —

"The orator of the day. Eloquent, patriotic, and pathetic; [very!] with the *Federal* heel of historic truth, he has bruised the heads of our party-colored DEMOCRATIC FRENCH SERPENTS."

Who can doubt that this Harrison Whig orator of 1840, is "where he ever has been and ever means to be?"

We have now discharged a great duty, as we view it, to the country, and especially to her young men. Laborious as it has been to collect these facts, truth and the times demand it. We should have been reluctant to have revived these recollections, had not our opponents sought to cheat the people by basely attempting to change the names of the two parties. This deception cannot avail in New England, for the men who

meanly descend to use it are known; but at the South and West, where all were patriots and Republicans in the war, the landmarks may be removed, or at least disturbed, by these forgers of false titles to the confidence of the people, if they are not exposed.

The facts we have here disclosed, belong to the whole country. Let them be used by every man who loves that country, to prevent the remotest possibility of the Democracy of the South and West coming under the old Hartford Convention rule, in the disguise of Whig Harrisonism.

The Harrison party is the reorganization of the old Federal party. Driven from power by their real principles, the leaders are desperately struggling once more to regain their lost ascendancy by denying their own identity. This, one of their great men foresaw they would do fifteen years ago.

When the Democratic Eustis was elected Governor of Massachusetts in 1824, and in his message placed the seal of infamy on the Hartford Convention, HARRISON GRAY OTIS, his Federal opponent, addressed to the governor a series of letters in defence of that measure.

In the close of that defence, he threatened that if the Federalists and their "*families*" continued to find themselves excluded from office in the nation, they would, first or last, from feelings of bitter resentment, be driven to organize themselves again as a party; and if they should not succeed, the consequences were to be the story of ruin to the country.

The first prediction of Mr. Otis is fulfilled. The last no race of his will live to see. The Hartford Convention Federalists, and "THEIR FAMILIES," are reorganized in a spirit of more "bitter resentment," than ever before inflamed their desperate ambition and greediness for power. They have put forward, as their great expounders and reformers, Daniel Webster and his associates.

"The significant banner" has been consecrated by the Boston Federalists with its motto —

"We are where we ever have been and ever mean to be."

And in the name of the assembled Federal hosts, Daniel Webster exclaims at Alexandria —

"WE HAVE MADE WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON THE BEARER OF OUR STANDARD, AND WHILE HE HOLDS IT, IT SHALL NOT *fall* unless WE FALL ALONG WITH IT!"

APPENDIX.

The following disclosures, of recent date, throw much light on the dark designs of the Hartford Convention:—

IMPRESSION THE BRITISH HAD OF THE HARTFORD CONVENTION.

Colonel C. G. Greene,

"Dear Sir: The following statement was handed to me, in the hand-writing of Mr. Aaron Wallis, of Ipswich, in June last, without my having the slightest previous knowledge that any such facts were in his possession. I have known Mr. Wallis for the last eight years, particularly, and should place implicit reliance in his statements. No man's character stands fairer for uprightness: he is a member of the vestry, and treasurer of the Episcopal Church in Ipswich. Mr. Wallis implicates no one. He relates the conversation of the British officer, which he has distinctly retained ever since it occurred, and which made a deep impression on him. He is ready to attest to the statement; but the laws of this Commonwealth will not admit of an extrajudicial oath.

"My attention has been called to this striking disclosure of Mr. Wallis by extracts, just published in the *Globe*, from the *British United Service Journal* of May last, and the declaration that there is a correspondence in existence, which would disclose facts that would fully warrant the statements made by the British Major at Halifax. Yours truly,

B. F. HALLETT."

"Sir: After perusing Mr. Parnmenter's speech, in relation to the Hartford Convention, I find a very important part omitted, viz. the view the *British* took of their assembling together.

"Being at that time at Halifax, a prisoner of war, at work, with John Shatswell of Salem, and Alexander Black of New York, in the King's Store, on the north side of the Parade, at Melville Island, in the winter of 1814, one Major Nickholds, or Nichols, of the 90th or 92d regiment, (I think the 92d,) acting, as was said, as assistant quartermaster-general of his majesty's forces at Halifax, came on to the Island about 2 o'clock, P. M. After transacting some business with the Royal Artilleryman, with relation to the telegraphic flags, &c., he came into the store, where Shatswell and myself were making a chest of drawers, and Black a sleigh, all for Captain Cuchett of the royal navy, the transport agent for prisoners,—and said, 'Well, boys, what are you at?'—'At work for the agent, sir.' After inquiring as to our fare, treatment, &c., he said, 'Well, boys, where do you belong?' Shatswell and myself hailed from Salem, and Black from New York. 'How long have you been here?' We answered according to time; when he immediately said to Shatswell and myself, that we should be sent home in a few days, as the Nantucket men had been. We inquired the cause; and he immediately stated, that 'a convention of delegates from the New England States meet this day at Hartford, for the purpose of withdrawing from the Union and declaring their neutrality, when all the New England men will be sent home, as the Nantucket men have been, immediately.'

"We made inquiry how this was to be brought about, and he replied, 'The whole has been arranged. The fleet in Boston Bay will watch a favorable wind, and appear off the Light, when the troops at South Boston will take up their line of march through Boston for Charlestown, ostensibly for the protection of the Navy Yard, but in fact to prevent Commodore Bainbridge from shedding blood. The fleet will sail up past the Castle, without firing a gun; and the troops at Charlestown will immediately march into the Navy Yard; and the choice officers, already selected, will surround Com-

modore Bainbridge, and say to him, Sir, do yourself no harm; you must not burn powder this day; and no one will hurt you. The fleet will anchor off Long Wharf, and all will be quiet immediately, as the Naval Commander has his orders to place Harrison Gray Otis at the head of affairs, until the pleasure of the Prince Regent is known. All this has been arranged among the leading men, but will not be made public until the fleet anchors off Long Wharf.'

"Black inquired, 'What will you do with me?'—'As you belong to New York, you must ride it out: we shall not go to New York—only to the New England States.'—'By God,' said Black, 'you had better not go there; you will find old Tompkins at home!'

"So sanguine was Major Nickholds of the success of the whole plot, that he declared his belief that the five-striped flag would fly at the State House in less than one fortnight. He further stated that we should know all about it in a few days, as a gun-brig or sloop-of-war, (I think a gun-brig,) had sailed for Castine, a week ago, to fetch down the news, and would be back shortly, when we should know all about it.

"Sir: When you was at Ipswich, last fall, I stated to you that I supposed I was in possession of some facts, in relation to the Hartford Convention, that I was desirous of making known, but dared not, for fear of the consequences to my family. The above are the facts alluded to at that time. They are now at your disposal, provided you work them into the history of our country where they belong.

"Your obedient servant,

(Signed,) AARON WALLIS."

"Ipswich, June 24, 1840.

"To B. F. Hallett, Esq."

The *British United Service Journal* of May, 1840, discloses the following facts, which tend strongly to corroborate the testimony of Mr. Wallis. It is hardly necessary to say that Mr. W. never saw this work, which was published last May, in Great Britain, and which holds a semi-official rank as the chronicle of the military and naval service.

[From the *British United Service Journal*.]

"Amongst the many dangers to which the American Republic must always be exposed in a war with Great Britain, not the least is that of a split among themselves, and consequent break up of their Federal Union. The slave question is a wedge strong enough to effect this at any time; but we could employ another nearly as powerful."

After stating that the Western States were in favor of the war, the British writer adds—

"Not so with the New Englanders; they, on the contrary, began to cast about to see how they could best extricate themselves from the strait to which the mad policy of Mr. Madison and the General Government had driven them. The inhabitants of the island of *Nantucket* made an overture to our commander-in-chief to remain perfectly neutral during the war, excluding the armed vessels of both belligerents from their harbors; whilst in another quarter, a far more extensive scheme of 'nullification' was seriously set on foot, and began to make rapid progress amongst some of the most respectable and influential inhabitants of New England."

With these originated the Hartford Convention, and the object of that body, the British writer says,

"Was to separate the Northern and Eastern from the Southern and Western States, to establish a limited

monarchy in the first named States, placing one of our princes of the blood on the throne, and strengthening the new transatlantic kingdom, by an alliance offensive and defensive with England. The treaty at Ghent put a stop to the correspondence, which was in active progress on this subject, BUT THAT CORRESPONDENCE IS STILL IN EXISTENCE; and however improbable it may appear to Yankee pride, were a war to break out again between us, something similar would occur before the 'United States' were two years older. THE DESTRUCTION OF THE PUBLIC BUILDINGS AT THE NOMINAL SEAT OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, IT WAS CONCEIVED, WOULD INDIRECTLY, IF NOT DIRECTLY, FORWARD THE VIEWS OF THE NEW ENGLAND SEPARATISTS."—*United Service Journal of May, 1840.*

This avowal seems to explain the extraordinary conduct of the British officers in destroying the public buildings at Washington, contrary to all usages in civilized warfare. Was it to aid the Northern Federalists in establishing a separate seat of government elsewhere? Was this the reason that Mr. John Davis exulted at the burning of the Capitol? Was this the reason that Daniel Webster and his Federal associates voted against rebuilding it?

The preliminaries to the Hartford Convention had their origin in John Henry's mission to New England, in 1809. The British Governor thus instructed Henry.

"Governor Craig's instructions to Henry, dated
Quebec, February, 1809.

"I request you to proceed with the earliest conveyance to Boston—obtain accurate information. The wealth of Massachusetts—the number of its inhabitants—the known intelligence and ability of several of its leading men, must give it a considerable influence over the other Eastern States, and will probably lead them in the part they are to take. Your judgment and connections there will guide you.

"I use general terms in describing the object in view. It has been supposed that if the Federalists of the Eastern States should be successful, and obtain the decided influence which may enable them to direct the public opinion, it is not improbable that, rather than submit, they will exert that influence to BRING ABOUT A SEPARATION FROM THE GENERAL UNION. How far in such an event will they LOOK TO ENGLAND for assistance, or be disposed to ENTER INTO A CONNECTION WITH US!

"You are not to appear as an avowed agent—continue to obtain an intimacy with the leaders, and cautiously advise them, that if they wish to enter into any communication with this Government, you will transmit it to me."

Henry, in his letters to his employer, thus described, in 1809, what actually was begun, and, but for the peace, would have been consummated in 1815

"Boston, March 6, 1809.

"I have already given a decided opinion that a declaration of war is not to be expected: but contrary to all reasonable calculation, should Congress possess spirit and independence enough to place their popularity in jeopardy by so strong a measure, THE LEGISLATURE OF MASSACHUSETTS WILL GIVE THE TONE TO THE NEIGHBORING STATES; WILL DECLARE ITSELF PERMANENT UNTIL A NEW ELECTION OF MEMBERS; INVITE A CONGRESS, TO BE COMPOSED OF DELEGATES FROM THE FEDERAL STATES, AND ERECT A SEPARATE GOVERNMENT FOR THEIR COMMON INTEREST.

A. B."

To the same effect, in his letter from Burlington, Vermont, the British Spy pledged that State to rebellion, through the Federalists. He said—

"The Federal party declare that, in the event of a war, [Vt.] the state of Vermont will treat separately for itself with Great Britain; and support, to the utmost, the stipulations into which it may enter, without any regard to the policy of the general government."

There is one man living, who has in his possession the evidence to prove the design of the Federalists to establish a Northern confederation. He declared this in his reply to Mr. Otis and twelve other leading Federalists of Boston, the 26th of December, 1828. That man is John Quincy Adams. He is now with the Federalists, and, therefore, unless he should change again, will, most likely, let the proof die with him. The fact that he possesses this evidence, may account for the extraordinary docility with which the Boston Federalists have always submitted to his castigations, and always received him into favor, let him do or say what he would. There is one passage in his letter to Messrs. Otis, &c., of 1828, which strikingly coincides with the declaration of Major Nichols to Mr. Wallis.

Extract from Mr. Adams's Letter.

"It was in those letters of 1803 and 1809, that I mentioned the design of certain leaders of the Federal party, and the establishment of a Northern confederacy, &c.

"This plan was so far matured, that the proposal had been made to an individual at the proper time, to be placed at the head of the military movement which, it was foreseen, would be necessary for carrying it into execution.

"The interposition of a kind Providence averted the most deplorable of catastrophes, and, turning over to the receptacle of things lost upon earth the adjourned convention from Hartford to Boston, extinguished (by the mercy of Heaven, may it be forever!) the projected New England confederacy."

REFERENCE.

THE preceding statements have been prepared at the solicitation of many friends of the Administration in distant States, where the Whigs are assuming to be the real Democratic party, and are attempting to practise this deception upon the people. The facts are derived from the public records, the Federal newspapers of that period, and through direct information from persons near the localities of the individuals named. As nothing but the names would render the facts indisputable, they have been given, and for no other reason. The details are believed to be strictly accurate in every essential particular. It is probable that all the survivors have not been ascertained. Their names, however, would unquestionably increase the aggregate results as they now stand.

For the purpose of giving this assurance to those at a distance, who may copy or refer to this statement, and to furnish a reference, should any of the facts be called in question in other States, we attach our names.

CHARLES G. GREENE,
B. F. HALLETT.

Boston, August, 1840.

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Horvitz - at the
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